

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 ACDE-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-01
INR-07 IO-13 L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-04
PRS-01 SAJ-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 NSC-05 /090 W
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TO USMISSION NATO PRIORITY
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1999
SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0088

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, NATO
SUBJ: MBFR: REQUEST FOR GUIDANCE ON DATA DISAGGREGATION

REFS: (A) MBFR VIENNA 0056 DTG 191311Z FEB 77; (B) STATE 042131
DTG 2501202 FEB 77; (C) MBFR VIENNA 0068 DTG 241521Z FEB 77

AS PROPOSED REFTELS A AND C, AND IN ACCORDANCE WITH GUIDANCE
PROVIDED REFTEL B, WE PROPOSED AT THE FEB 28 AD HOC GROUP MEETING
THAT THE GROUP REQUEST NAC AUTHORIZATION TO USE WITH THE EAST
DATA VALID AS OF JAN 1, 1976 ON THE TOTAL OF US MILITARY
MANPOWER IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS (EXCEPT FOR THE NAVY)
AS WELL AS ON THE TOTAL OF US GROUND FORCE MANPOWER FOR THAT
DATE. IN STATEMENTS MADE IN PRELIMINARY DISCUSSION ON FEB 28
AND IN AD HOC GROUP SESSION ON MARCH 1, BELGIAN, CANADIAN,
ITALIAN, NETHERLANDS, FRG AND UK REPS AGREED ON DESIRABILITY
OF THIS REQUEST. PRIOR TO MARCH 1 SESSION, WE DISCUSSED MAIN
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LINES OF POSSIBLE DRAFT REPORT ALONG LINES OF WASHINGTON GUIDANCE,
WITH FRG AND UK REPS. BOTH CHECKED WITH THEIR RESPECTIVE CAPITALS,
WHICH AGREED. DURING DETAILED DISCUSSION OF DRAFT TEXT OF
REPORT, NETHERLANDS REP TOOK POSITION THAT WEST SHOULD TABLE
DATA ON FORCES OF ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS BUT HE RECEIVED NO
SUPPORT SINCE OTHER PARTICIPANTS REALIZED FRG WOULD NOT AGREE.
THERE FOLLOWS BELOW THE TEXT OF THE REQUEST TO THE NAC AS APPROVED

BY THE AD HOC GROUP ON MARCH 2. BEGIN TEXT:

AD HOC GROUP REQUEST FOR GUIDANCE

1. DURING THE INFORMAL SESSIONS OF FEB 15 AND 22, AND MARCH 1, WESTERN NEGOTIATORS IN VIENNA HAVE PUT A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS TO EASTERN REPS CONCERNING THE DATA THE EAST TABLED ON JUNE 10, 1976 ON WARSAW PACT FORCES IN THE REDUCTION AREA. THE GENERAL OBJECTIVE OF THESE QUESTIONS WAS TO IDENTIFY THE SOURCES OF THE DISCREPANCY BETWEEN THE TABLED EASTERN FIGURES AND WESTERN ESTIMATES FOR WARSAW PACT FORCES IN THE AREA.

2. THE INITIAL PHASE OF ENQUIRY, AS THE GROUP HAS REPORTED TO THE COUNCIL, WAS DESIGNED TO SEE WHETHER THE DISCREPANCY COULD BE ACCOUNTED FOR BY THE EAST'S USE OF DIFFERENT CRITERIA FOR DETERMINING WHAT PERSONNEL SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN ITS DATA AND WHAT EXCLUDED FROM ITS DATA. BOTH SIDES HAVE COME TO REFER TO THESE CRITERIA UNDER THE HEADING OF COUNTING RULES.

3. THE EAST'S ANSWER TO THIS INITIAL LINE OF QUESTIONING HAS IN EFFECT BEEN TO ASSERT THAT IT USED CRITERIA WHICH ARE IN PRACTICE IDENTICAL TO THOSE USED BY THE WEST AND THAT IT INCLUDED ALL WARSAW PACT ACTIVE DUTY MILITARY PERSONNEL IN THE AREA IN ITS TABLED FIGURES. PRESENT INDICATIONS ARE THAT THE EAST INTENDS TO STICK TO THIS CONTENTION.

4. THE AD HOC GROUP BELIEVES THAT IT IS STRONGLY IN THE INTEREST OF WESTERN PARTICIPANTS TO CONTINUE THE DISCUSSION OF DATA WITH THE EAST AND TO CONTINUE TO EXPLORE WAYS OF
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ASCERTAINING THE SOURCES OF THE DISCREPANCY BETWEEN EASTERN DATA AND ALLIED ESTIMATES OF EASTERN FORCES. GIVEN THE EAST'S INSISTENCE THAT IT HAS INCLUDED ALL ACTIVE DUTY MILITARY PERSONNEL IN THE AREA IN ITS FIGURES, IT APPEARS DESIRABLE TO SUPPLEMENT PRESENT METHODS OF TESTING THIS CONTENTION BY DEVELOPING AN ADDITIONAL, COMPLEMENTARY LINE OF ENQUIRY.

5. THE AD HOC GROUP BELIEVES THAT THIS SHOULD BE DONE THROUGH AN EXAMINATION AND DISCUSSION OF EASTERN DATA ON SOVIET FORCES IN THE AREA.

6. THIS POSITIVE STEP WOULD HELP THE WEST TO AVOID A SITUATION TOWARD WHICH THE PRESENT DEVELOPMENT IN EAST-WEST DISCUSSION MAY BE LEADING, WHERE LACK OF SUCCESS IN IDENTIFYING THE SOURCES OF THE DISCREPANCY BETWEEN WESTERN AND EASTERN FIGURES ON WARSAW PACT FORCES COULD BRING THIS EFFORT TO A STOP.

7. HOWEVER, IF WE ARE TO BRING THE EAST TO TABLE DATA ON SOVIET FORCES, WESTERN NEGOTIATORS SHOULD BE IN A POSITION

TO PUT DOWN THEIR FIGURES ON US FORCES IN THE AREA.

8. ACCORDINGLY, THE AD HOC GROUP REQUESTS THAT THE NAC PROVIDE GUIDANCE AUTHORIZING THE WESTERN NEGOTIATORS TO PUT FORWARD TO THE EAST DATA VALID AS OF 1 JAN 1976 ON THE TOTAL OF US MILITARY MANPOWER IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS (EXCEPT FOR THE NAVY) AS WELL AS ON THE TOTAL OF US GROUND FORCE MANPOWER FOR THAT DATE.

9. IN THE VIEW OF THE AD HOC GROUP, THE TABLING OF DATA ON US AND SOVIET FORCES IN THE AREA IS A LOGICAL NEXT STEP IN THE PRESENT DISCUSSION FOR A NUMBER OF REASONS.

10. GIVEN THE EASTERN CLAIM TO HAVE INCLUDED ALL ACTIVE DUTY PACT MILITARY PERSONNEL IN ITS FIGURES, WESTERN NEGOTIATORS HAVE BEEN FOCUSSED ON A LINE OF ENQUIRY WHICH IS DIRECTED LESS TO THE WORDING OF EASTERN COUNTING RULES, WHICH ARE ALLEGEDLY
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VERY SIMILAR TO THE WEST'S, THAN IT IS TO ASCERTAINING HOW THE EAST HAS ACTUALLY APPLIED THESE RULES TO ITS OWN FORCES AND WHETHER IT HAS LEFT OUT ANY SPECIFIC GROUPS OR CATEGORIES OF FORCES WHICH THE WEST HAS COUNTED. WE INTEND TO CONTINUE THIS COURSE OF ENQUIRY.

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INFO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2000

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0088

FROM US REP MBFR

11. TO MAKE THIS LINE OF ENQUIRY MORE EFFECTIVE, IT SHOULD BE APPLIED NOT ONLY TO THE OVERALL EASTERN TOTAL, BUT TO ITS MAJOR

SUB-COMPONENT, ENABLING WESTERN NEGOTIATORS TO ASK THE SAME TYPE OF QUESTION IN A MORE SPECIFIC CONTEXT.

12. TO DISCUSS FIGURES ON US AND SOVIET FORCES IS CONSISTENT WITH THE OVERALL WESTERN PHASED APPROACH AND WITH THE FACT THAT IN, NOVEMBER 1973, THE WEST HAS ALREADY TABLED DATA ON US AND SOVIET GROUND FORCES IN THE REDUCTION AREA.

13. MOREOVER, SUCH A MOVE COULD OPEN UP A NUMBER OF ADDITIONAL LINES OF QUESTIONING WHICH COULD GIVE THE ALLIES IMPORTANT INSIGHTS INTO THE BASIS FOR THE DISCREPANCY BETWEEN THEIR ESTIMATES AND TABLED PART FIGURES.

14. THAT IS, BY TABLING FIGURES FOR US TOTAL FORCES AND US
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GROUND FORCES AND ASKING THE EAST TO TABLE ITS TOTALS FOR SOVIET FORCES, THE WEST COULD OBTAIN FOUR EASTERN SUB-TOTALS FOR FORCES IN THE AREA: SOVIET TOTAL MANPOWER AND GROUND FORCE MANPOWER IN THE AREA AND, BY A PROCESS OF SUBTRACTION, THE TOTAL OF ALL NON-SOVIET FORCES IN THE AREA AND THEIR GROUND FORCE MANPOWER. IN OTHER WORDS, SOVIET GROUND AND AIR FORCE MANPOWER AND EASTERN EUROPEAN GROUND AND AIR FORCE MANPOWER.

15. THE INFORMATION ACQUIRED FROM A DISCUSSION BASED ON THESE TOTALS -- COUPLED WITH OTHER EVIDENCE AVAILABLE TO US -- COULD BE CONSIDERABLE. IT WOULD ENABLE THE PARTICIPATING ALLIES, INTER ALIA, TO ASCERTAIN WHETHER THE BULK OF THE DISCREPANCY BETWEEN THE DATA OF EAST AND WEST ON PACT MILITARY MANPOWER IS IN SOVIET FORCES, OR IN EASTERN EUROPEAN FORCES, OR WHETHER IT IS ABOUT EQUALLY DIVIDED BETWEEN THE TWO AND ALSO HOW THE AIR MANPOWER DISCREPANCY IS ALLOCATED BETWEEN THE SOVIETS AND ITS ALLIES.

16. IN SHORT, IF THE WEST CAN OBTAIN THE EASTERN FIGURES ON SOVIET FORCES, THE POSSIBILITIES FOR CROSS-CHECKING THE APPLICATION OF STATED EASTERN COUNTING RULES WOULD BE INCREASED.

17. MOREOVER, THE EVIDENCE PROVIDED BY THIS STAGE OF DISCUSSION COULD ENABLE THE WEST TO DRAW ADDITIONAL CONCLUSIONS ABOUT THE ACCURACY OF EASTERN STATEMENTS AND ABOUT THE FUTURE COURSE

OF DATA DISCUSSION WITH THE EAST.

18. BEFORE THE PARTICIPATING ALLIES ENTERED THIS STAGE OF DISCUSSION WITH THE EAST, THEY WOULD, OF COURSE, WISH TO ESTABLISH CERTAIN GUIDELINES.

19. FIRST, THE GROUP CONSIDERS THE WEST SHOULD MAKE A DISCLAIMER TO THE EFFECT THAT THE TABLING OF SUB-TOTALS IS WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE OVERALL POSITION OF EITHER SIDE. THIS STEP WILL AMONG OTHER THINGS PROTECT THE CONTINUING COMMITMENT OF PARTICIPATING ALLIES TO COLLECTIVITY OF
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OBLIGATIONS. DEPENDING ON THE TACTICAL SITUATION, THE PARTICIPATING ALLIES MIGHT SEEK TO OBTAIN EASTERN AGREEMENT TO JOIN IN SUCH A DISCLAIMER.

20. SECOND, AT THE TIME OF TABLING US DATA, WESTERN NEGOTIATORS WOULD MAKE A FURTHER DISCLAIMER TO THE EFFECT THAT, IN THE ABSENCE OF AGREEMENT ON AN EFFECTIVE DATE FOR COMPUTING REDUCTIONS AND LIMITATIONS, THE TABLING OF THESE FIGURES IS WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE SPECIFIC DATA WHICH WOULD FORM THE BASIS OF AN MBFR AGREEMENT. THIS LATTER POINT WOULD PROTECT THE RIGHT OF WESTERN PARTICIPANTS TO INCREASE THEIR FORCES BOTH INDIVIDUALLY AND COLLECTIVELY UNTIL A DATE IS AGREED FOR CALCULATING REDUCTIONS AND LIMITATIONS AND UNTIL AN AGREEMENT IS SIGNED.

21. IN THE INFORMAL SESSION OF MARCH 1, EASTERN PARTICIPANTS SUGGESTED THAT DIRECT PARTICIPANTS TABLE SEPARATE NATIONAL DATA ON THEIR FORCES.

22. WESTERN NEGOTIATORS WOULD OPPOSE EASTERN ATTEMPTS TO GAIN WESTERN AGREEMENT TO PUT DOWN NATIONAL TOTALS FOR WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS OTHER THAN THE US AT THIS TIME. HOWEVER IT WOULD NOT BE DESIRABLE FOR THE WEST TO TAKE A CATEGORICAL POSITION VIS-A-VIS THE EAST WHICH WOULD RULE OUT SUCH A STEP FOR THE FUTURE.

23. IN TIME, THERE MIGHT BE AGREEMENT AMONG THE NATO PARTICIPANTS TO TAKE SUCH A STEP, FOR EXAMPLE, IF FURTHER DISCUSSION AT A LATER STAGE INDICATES THAT THE BULK OF THE DISCREPANCY BETWEEN WESTERN AND EASTERN DATA ON EASTERN FORCES IS IN EASTERN EUROPEAN FORCES AND IF THE EAST HAS AGREED TO JOIN IN A DISCLAIMER PROTECTING THE WESTERN NEGOTIATING POSITION. MOREOVER, FLAT WESTERN REFUSAL TO TABLE NATIONAL TOTALS AT ANY FUTURE STAGE OF THE VIENNA TALKS WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO DEFEND IN LOGIC AND COULD BLOCK EASTERN READINESS TO TABLE SOVIET DATA AND THUS, IN EFFECT, BLOCK FURTHER DISCUSSION IN THE DATA FIELD.

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24. IN THE EVENT THAT THE EAST MAINTAINS ITS PRESENT PROPOSAL AND SHOULD REFUSE TO TABLE ITS DATA ON SOVIET FORCES IN THE ABSENCE OF DATA ON THE FORCES OF NON-US WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN THE AREA, WESTERN NEGOTIATORS WOULD TAKE THE POSITION THAT THEY WOULD BE WILLING TO CONSIDER WHETHER OR NOT TO TABLE NATIONAL TOTALS AFTER A THOROUGH EXAMINATION OF DATA ON US AND SOVIET FORCES IN THE AREA HAS TAKEN PLACE AND AFTER AN OBJECTIVE NEED TO DO SO HAD BEEN ESTABLISHED.

25. IN THE EVENT THAT EASTERN FIGURES ON SOVIET FORCES DIFFER SUBSTANTIALLY FROM WESTERN ESTIMATES, WESTERN NEGOTIATORS WILL MAKE THIS CLEAR AND WILL USE NATO ESTIMATES OF SOVIET FORCES WITHIN THE AD HOC GROUP AS A CHECK OR CONTROL ON THE ACCURACY OF EASTERN STATEMENT ON THIS SUBJECT.

26. THE AD HOC GROUP REQUESTS THAT DATA ON US MILITARY MANPOWER REQUESTED BE MADE AVAILABLE TO IT BY MARCH 14 OR EARLIER, FOR USE IN THE MARCH 15 INFORMAL. RELEASE OF THIS DATA AT A LATER DATE COULD PREVENT A FULL DISCUSSION OF SOVIET DATA PRIOR TO THE END OF THE PRESENT ROUND ON OR ABOUT APRIL 6.
END TEXT.RESOR

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Message Attributes

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